

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 76.—No. 1.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 7TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.



## TO DOCTOR BLACK, *On the Consequences of rejecting the Reform Bill.*

Kensington, 4th April, 1832.

DOCTOR,

In my last *Register* I observed, that those who hugged themselves in the hope, that, if the bill were rejected, the people, after a *mutual cutting of throats*, would gladly return to the old state of things, and that the Lords would, all the while, have *snugly kept their estates*; I observed, that those who cherished this kind and just hope might be deceived; for that, as in America, the reformers might say, "*stand fast*;" that is to say, let every one *keep, as his own*, the house and land that he may *occupy!* Now, Doctor, you (lest, I suppose, the Lords should be *alarmed* at this) *hasten* to express your *opinion*, that there is *no such danger* as this, let the Lords do what they may; but you gave us *reasons* for this opinion, and these show that the opinion is not worth a straw; and this, when I have quoted your words, I shall, I think, clearly prove.

But, Doctor, one might, after all that has passed, have expected a little more modesty from you, though a Scotchman, in speaking of a thing, no matter what, *put forth by me*. After speaking, in 1822, with the utmost *reprobation* and *contempt*, at the same time, of my proposition to give *poor-laws to Ireland*, and after becoming yourself the most strenuous of all the advocates for those poor-laws, you might, though a pert Scotch feelosofer, have shown a little more modesty in speaking of any opinion of mine. After having called the *History*

of the Protestant Reformation "PIG'S MEAT;" and after having seen its prodigious effects all over the kingdom; after having seen it shake the tithe-system to the very centre; and after having lived at the *trough* yourself for now about two years: after all this, you might have been a little more cautious how you talked in such a dogmatical style upon any subject in opposition to any expressed opinion of mine. It was not for *this* that I made you a Doctor; and, by —— if you go on at this rate, I will un-doctor you, and reduce you again to your very kilt. I will now insert your commentary, and show how little comfort it ought to give to those whom it is manifestly intended to *embolden to reject the bill!* I say this quite advisedly; because, I defy you to assign any *other* motive for your commentary, which I shall now take, paragraph by paragraph, and show how incompetent you are to write upon such a subject.

The account of the means by which the tenants of Pennsylvania were made such warm friends of the revolution, is, no doubt, *exceedingly instructive*. If the Cortes of Spain had divided the church-lands among the *peasantry*, the revolution in that country would not have been *so easily overturned*. It happened fortunately for the new order of things in France, that the provinces in which there were most church-lands were the provinces bordering upon the *most powerful of the enemies of France*, and the distribution of these lands made the people of *Alsace, Burgundy, Lorraine*, &c., the most stanch supporters of the revolution.

The phrase "*exceedingly instructive*" is a little piece of Scotch *sorcosm, mon!* A "*spacamen of antalluct*." I tell you what, Doctor; the Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct* are got out of vogue. I have trampled them under foot, and Englishmen laugh at the insolence, except it be those few base fools who affectsuperiority of mind, and who are the real two-legged jackasses of the kingdom. The Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct* were fast becoming objects of general ridicule and contempt, when GREY had the surprising sense and decency to perch up *Broue-*

B

**HAM** upon the woolsack. That gave a finisher to the Scotch *antalluct*; that successor of THOMAS à BECKET, FORTESQUE, and Sir THOMAS MORE, standing before me in the Court of King's Bench, in the manner that he did in the month of July last; laying down, from the woolsack, the doctrine that the tithe-owner was a sleeping partner with the land-owner in the proprietorship of the land; pledging himself, from that same woolsack, to bring in a new code of poor-laws; these things, Doctor, have given the finishing stroke to Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct*; and the people in all the more than fifty towns in which I have recently been, and in which I have addressed the people, Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct* are a subject of laughter and of scorn. Therefore, Doctor, if you will be ruled by me, you will avoid all attempts at *sorcosm* in future, until, at least, your prime Scotch cock has brought in, and caused to be passed, his new code of poor-laws.

Now, as to the Cortes of Spain, pray what has their overthrow to do with the observations and facts that you were commenting on? Why, their overthrow has a great deal to do with the matter; for it furnishes a strong additional argument to those that I made use of: for what does it say? Why, that the revolution was easily overturned, and the old order of things easily re-established, only because the Cortes did not divide the church lands amongst the country people. If this were the case in Spain; if a division of the lands amongst the people would have rendered the revolution successful there, why should not our nobility be upon their guard lest the nation should be tempted to resort to similar means? aye, to those very means which you blame the Cortes for not resorting to. Nothing can be truer than what you say here, Doctor: nothing can be truer than that the Cortes were overturned because they did not divide the lands *amongst the people*; but, instead of that, like a set of base rogues or of grovelling fools, they began to borrow money of our infamous Jews and jobbers to make a national debt, pretending that the church property, which was, in fact, the patrimony

of the poor, was pledged for the payment of that debt; and thus, in reality, taking the borrowed money, and dividing it amongst their unprincipled selves; not selling the property and bringing the money into the treasury, as the much-abused Jacobins had done.

Doctor, let me here again remind you how right I was upon this subject; and how wrong the Scotch *antalluct* was upon the same subject. Long before the French marched into Spain, I said that the Spanish people would receive them with open arms; and I said that the Spanish bonds would not be worth one farthing. You, Doctor, said just the contrary: your *antalluct* discovered that the people would fight for the "free constitution" that they had got; I told you that the people saw clearly that they were about to be robbed, and that, if they fought against the French, they would be fighting for a national debt, and for a gendarmerie. Upon this memorable occasion I stood absolutely alone; both of the greedy factions, and the whole of the nation, friends as well as foes, were against me; every one said I was wrong, but results proved that I was right; and, if you read that little Spanish book that I am publishing, Doctor, you will see that the people of Spain were sensible to stifle in its birth that monster, a national debt, which the stupid or rogueish Cortes were nursing up to devour them.

If, indeed, the Cortes had divided the lands amongst the people, the French would never have dared to enter Spain; but this not having been done, the new order of things fell at once. But, Doctor, what inference do you mean to draw from the fact, that the church of France had most riches in Alsace, Burgundy, and Lorraine, and that this made those provinces the most staunch supporters of the revolution? Both facts are false. The church had the greatest riches in the richest provinces, and the richest of all was in the north, and in Normandy. The most staunch supporters of the revolutions were in Provence and in Normandy; so that both the facts are false; and if they were both true, they make directly against your own posi-

tion; for they only show that the people were zealous for the revolution in an exact proportion to the quantity of property distributed amongst them. This paragraph, therefore, contains a string of statements, which, whether true or false, make against your argument and in support of mine. But we now approach a little nearer to close quarters.

But though we believe that the first to repel any attempt to involve the country in confusion would be the anti-reform nobles, we do not think they are likely to be much alarmed with the possibility of their being supplanted by their tenants. It was very easy for the tenants of the great proprietors of Pennsylvania (the descendants of Penn) to stand fast, because the *yeomanry of America* were then nearly the whole of the people. But a tenant would not find it so easy to stand fast in England. Every man on his farm would think he had as good a right to stand fast as the tenant, and there might be a good deal of shoving before any one could stand fast.

This is the first time that I ever heard about "yeomanry of America;" and you know nothing about the then situation of Pennsylvania, if you imagine that the descendants of the Penns were the only proprietors of the land. The proprietors were then very numerous, and the occupiers were all tenants in some way or another. Your notion of the *farm-labourers* contending with the farmer for the proprietorship of the farm, argues as complete a state of ignorance of the rural community of England as if you had been born but yesterday. You do not know, then, that the farm-labourers are renters also! You do not know this, and that their sons and daughters, as well as themselves, would think themselves in heaven to become the owners of their cottages and gardens. And, observe, these are the only people that the farmers would have to care a straw about. You seem to think that the Irish labourers would pour out from St. Giles's, and from Kensington, and take the bands of pickpockets along with them, and go and scramble for the farm houses and the fields! This only shows that you are totally ignorant of the state of the country and the people; that you know nothing at all of the manners, tastes or dispositions of the country people; that you have not the

most distant idea of the relationships which exist between them, and of the ties that bind them to one another. If you take a village of five or six hundred persons, you will find above fifty or sixty heads of families who are renters; and, if you had any knowledge at all of the matter, you would know, that if you were to take all the little renters, and offer each of them a palace to reside in, and a coach-and-six to ride in, not one of the whole would accept of your offer; and that, if they were left to cut and carve for themselves, nineteen out of every twenty would choose the cottages and gardens in which they reside.

The truth is, that in a country so thickly peopled as *England*, and with so large a portion of the population without property, the dread of anything like a scramble is always uppermost in the minds of all who possess property, and will always lead them to make every effort to preserve a respect for justice. Now there would be no justice in giving the farm to the occupying tenant. If the *landlord* misconduct himself, his property ought to become public, and the proceeds be applied to the relief of the public wants.

The *thick* population I have answered. No question, that all who possess property must most anxiously wish it respected; must most anxiously wish for the preservation of the laws of property; and it is my great anxiety not to see these laws shaken, that makes me so desirous to prevent the pretence for shaking them from arising. You say that there would be no "*justice*" in giving the farm to the occupying tenant. To be sure there would be no *justice*, but most monstrous injustice; but I was supposing that direful state of things, in which, as in America and France, law and justice were made to give way to the necessity of making blood cease to flow. I am as sensible as you are, that such a distribution would be contrary to all justice; and it was to prevent the possibility of it that I was and am labouring.

Besides, in this country, there are few estates which belong absolutely to individuals. Estates are often mortgaged to their full value, and it would be hard indeed if an unoffending mortgagee should be ousted by a tenant. These estates are carved out of estates in a hundred different ways, well known to conveyancers;

so that the same estate may belong to a score of individuals. In the case of the Derwent-water and other forfeited estates, all incumbrances were religiously respected.

Here one cannot help smiling at the simplicity of the remark, that an unoffending mortgagee "*ought not to be ousted by a tenant:*"—no, faith, nor ought the landlord to be ousted any more than the mortgagee. But you seem resolved not to perceive that I was supposing a case where the law would have no force, and not a case where *conveyances* and *liens* would have any effect; and I was labouring to prevail upon the Lords to be upon their guard against listening to advice that might by possibility produce this horrid state of things. The last paragraph presents us with a set of curious notions; such as never could have arisen out of any thing but prime *antislavery*.

*God forbid that this country should be thrown into confusion by any set of men.* What might be the consequence of paralysing credit and confidence in a country, where millions of strong-backed men live from day to day, and are never possessed of more than a week's wages at a time, it is impossible to predict. But this we can predict—*so long as any respect for law and property exists in the country*, the tenants will never be allowed to usurp the property of the farms occupied by them, without paying the market price for them. When law ceases to have force, and the simple plan of Rob Roy prevails, that every man may take who has the might, and every man may keep who can—the tenures will of course be exceedingly short.

We have here, first, a most pious prayer, to which I say, with equal piety I hope, Amen! God forbid, indeed, that such a state of things should arise. But when you immediately talk about paralysing credit and confidence in the country, you open a new and vast subject, upon which I shall have to touch presently. First, let me dispose of your remark, that, "so long as any respect for law and property exists in the country, the tenants will never be allowed to usurp the farms occupied by them without paying the market price for them." Why, Doctor, if they were to pay the market price it would not be a usurpation. These words, *stand fast*, seem to have occasioned a complete

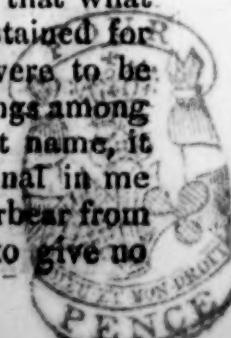
confusion in your *antislavery*. But the great curiosity here is the prediction. You predict that, "so long as respect for property exists, the tenants will not be allowed to usurp the property of their farms!" This is being long-sighted with a vengeance! This is, indeed, seeing through a four-inch plank. This is equal to a prediction, that, if it rain all day long to-morrow, the earth will not be dry at night. You are sure not to be wrong in your prediction, at any rate; and the only wrong here is, that your prediction would seem to imply, that I recommended that the farmers should be allowed to usurp the property of their farms; which is a little more than prediction, it being malignity unspeakable; you well knowing that every line on which you were commenting had a direct tendency to make people shudder at the thought of the existence of such a state of things; such a total breaking up of that English community which I described as having been, and indeed has still being, with a correction of some abuses, the very best that the world had ever seen; notwithstanding there are, as you say, "millions of strong-backed men who were never possessed of more than a week's wages at a time." And, Doctor, do you happen to know of any community in this world, where the strong-backed men have more money than this at a time? I have been a considerable employer of men in the United States of America; and I solemnly declare that I do not recollect one of them who had, as I had reason to believe, the possession of more money than a week's wages at any one time. The fashion there is for mere labouring men to run in debt in winter and work out the debt in summer; and, if they were richer than this, very few of them would work you may be very sure. The fault with us is, not that the working people do not save their money; but that they do not get enough to keep them in good victuals and good clothing. This is the fault with us. If they had this, not all the publications and all the preachings in the world would make the millions of labourers stir hand or foot to produce

any change in the Government or the Parliament; and, in this respect, I should most assuredly strictly follow their example. My quarrel as well as their quarrel with the present system is, that it pinches their bellies and strips their backs. I do not want them to have each a parcel of money; and therefore what you say about their want of money making them eager for a scramble, is one of those natural effusions of *aut alluct* commonly called nonsense.

But, now, for this danger which you have started about "*paralysing*" credit and confidence in the country! This credit that you allude to, is false credit; the confidence that you talk of is a delusion. They are two words which mean the circulating, in one shape or another, false things to represent money and property; but these things serve to uphold innumerable usurious transactions and innumerable monopolies, by which industry and labour are robbed of their due. Nevertheless, if a rejection of the Reform Bill should induce any considerable part of the community to set their faces against these false representatives of money and of property, the consequences would be important indeed. I make it a rule never to sleep with what is called a note in my house. There is no money which is legal to be tendered as money, except that which comes out under the authority of the King. I never look upon bits of paper as worth anything at all. The law has given me security in the coin of the King. For mere convenience to those who deal with me, I sometimes take the other stuff, and take the trouble of turning it into money; but if, unhappily, this Reform Bill were to be rejected, I should certainly give notice to my customers not to tender at my shop, as money, any thing but the coin of the King; and I would take special care, not to receive in payment anything but that coin. With regard to the rest of the nation, I am under no obligation to take any particular pains to guard them against this danger; but to my readers I am under such obligation; and I should deem it a cri-

nal neglect of duty were I not to warn them against the possible effect of a rejection of the Reform Bill, with regard to the pecuniary affairs of people in general; and to advise them by all means, not to place their reliance upon the possession of any thing which they have been accustomed to deem the representative of money; but, on the contrary, to acquire and to preserve, by all just and legal means, as much of the King's coin as they can. I hope, that even if the Reform Bill be rejected, the people will be *patient*; that they will duly consider the danger attending every species of confusion, and that they will proceed, as they hitherto have done, with their petitions and remonstrances; bearing their sufferings with their accustomed fortitude, and calmly waiting the result, being assured (and this assurance I venture to give them) that the end will be a complete restoration of the civil and religious liberties of the country, and of the ancient good living of the working people; and, until they behold these things, I trust that they will never slacken in their legal efforts to obtain them.

But, while such are my hopes, I am by no means certain that these hopes will be verified. Knowing, as I do, how sudden sometimes events come and overturn all our hopes and expectations; beholding, as I do, a resistance of the yielding of tithes in Ireland; knowing, as I do well, the feelings of all England in this respect; seeing the very Ministers themselves reduced to the necessity of extinguishing tithes in Ireland; seeing here one vast branch of the tree of power ready to be shaken from the trunk; remembering the many open propositions that have been made, according to statements made in the two houses of Parliament, of an intention to withhold the payment of taxes; and knowing it to be impossible that what is called credit should be sustained for an hour, if such resolution were to be acted on; beholding these things among many others which I need not name, it would be scandalously criminal in me not to advise my readers to forbear from every unnecessary expense; to give no



credit if they can possibly help it, except from a feeling of humanity ; to turn their eyes from paper promises of every description, and, like sensible men and loyal subjects, rely solely for security in the possession of the coin of the King.

As I said before, first, I hope the Lords will pass the bill ; next, if they should not pass it, I trust that the people will find their angry feelings overpowered by their love for their country. The mischief done by this long suspense is wholly incalculable. While our wise Government are sending as many working people as they can to the colonies, *men of property* are flocking to the United States ! Perhaps more than a hundred thousand pounds in hard money are weekly quitting our shores for those of the United States, leaving the debt, leaving the tithes, leaving the dead-weight, leaving the standing army, leaving Peel's police, which the Whigs have girt with swords, leaving the cholera-morbus-law, the game-laws, the trespass-law, Sturges Bourne's bills, the pension and sinecure list, and the tread-mill, behind them. This is one of the great evils of this suspense. It is useless to tell such men *to wait* ; they have before their eyes certain ruin from the effects of the system, or probable ruin from the effects of convulsion. This they all tell you when you desire them *to wait*.

All this injury, falling and yet to fall upon the country, will be fairly ascribable to those who shall cause this bill not to be passed. While, therefore, I hope that the people would bear even a second rejection with that laudable forbearance which has hitherto distinguished their conduct, I cannot but fear the consequences, amongst which consequences a sudden and total destruction of that which is called credit is, at least, a possible item. Against this, therefore, I trust, all my readers will provide to the utmost of their power. This is an evil, Doctor, against which no *antalluct* can provide. The *fires* set all vigilance and all power at defiance ; but in them there is always the commission of heinous crime, and the manifest risk of life

to the perpetrator. Here there is no risk at all ; but on the contrary, here is the practice of the *virtue of prudence*, sanctioned and even enjoined by the law.

I beseech all my readers to recollect, that, in 1826, month of January, Huskisson (he being then one of the cabinet) said that we had recently been **WITHIN FORTY-EIGHT HOURS OF BARTER !** That is to say, within forty-eight hours of having no money to pass in the country ; no measure of value in the country ; no means of causing debts to be paid or contracts executed ; no means, no possible means of legally providing food and raiment for the people. Always recollect this, when any one desires you to believe that you ought to place reliance on the wisdom of the Government. If barter had come at that time, there would have been *no property* the next day, excepting that which a man had in his own personal power and possession. All who had been in want would have taken what they wanted ; and nothing would have been to be bought, but for gold : bank-notes, chequer bills, promissory-notes, bills of exchange, written obligations of every description, would have been worthless as the dust upon the road. Those who had gold, though possessing little bodily strength, might have lived through the storm ; for gold would have bought them victuals, drink, and clothing ; but all debts would have been cancelled for ever ; and, in short, property would have completely changed hands. No man would have dared demand a debt contracted before the barter ; the goods of no man would have been sacred ; even common humanity would have rendered property common ; that is to say, belonging to one man as much as to another.

Doctor, if your *antalluct* will not permit you to take this vulgar view of the matter, I trust the plain sense of my readers will induce them to do it, and will convince them of the necessity of taking every measure by which they can honestly possess themselves of gold. The barter from which we so narrowly

escaped in 1825 and 1826, arose from an alarm, which made people run to the Bank for gold. The alarm might arise from a different cause now; but no matter what the alarm arise from, its effect must always be the same in nature though not always the same in degree. Every one acquainted with the matter knows well, that a total discredit of a paper money of all sorts; that is to say, a shutting up of the banks, would render it utterly impossible, if it took place suddenly, to pay wages to any part of the people in the great and populous towns. In the country men might do; barter might take place there for some time without much inconvenience; but, at Birmingham, or Manchester, or Leeds; or, indeed, in any one of sixty towns that I might name, all would be utter confusion. The thousands would take the viands and clothing as long as there was any to take; and, though I do believe that the humanity of the people would go very far towards preventing acts of blood, it is too much to hope that even blood would not be shed in abundance. But, if the danger would be great in those towns, what would it be in this enormous place? I have long accustomed myself to contemplate all the possible effects of this ruinous system; but when I have come to view this Wen, under the effects of a sudden destruction of what is called credit; under the effects of a sudden discredit of all that is called paper money, I have always turned from the sight with dismay; and have always said, that he must be a devil in human shape who, seeing the possibility of such an event, did not, having the power, and seeing the danger, set himself instantly at work to provide against it.

Now, Doctor, try your Scotch *sor-sm, mon*; try your *antalluet* upon these observations of mine; tell us what security we have that the same Government who has seen tithes extinguished in Ireland by the people, will not live to see paper money extinguished also. Tell us what security we have at a second rejection of the Reform

Bill should not produce a great convulsive movement in some part of the kingdom, or some formidable combination against the fiscal powers of the Government. Pray tell us, you who have the *antalluet*, what security we have against being *brought to barter* in this way; and, if a state of barter now come, tell us, I pray you, how rivers of blood are to be prevented from flowing unless by some such measure as that adopted by America or that adopted by France.

Leaving you to answer this question,

I remain,  
Your obedient servant,  
Wm. COBBETT.

### CHOLERA BATTLES.

IN London there have been several skirmishes with the doctors, with the police on one side and the enraged people on the other side. The police are now become real *gendarmerie*, as I always said they would become. Here are ten or twelve thousands of them with swords girt on to their sides. The Tories gave them half military uniform and constables' staves: the Whigs have given them SWORDS. They are mostly Irishmen. I always said it would come to this; and I now say it will go a great deal further yet. How vigorous old GREY is *as to these matters!* If he were but half as vigorous in pushing on the Reform Bill, people would think a great deal more of him than they now do. Surprisingly vigorous in the case of the *West India Colonies*, too. Vigorous à faire peur in every thing but in his own conduct towards the Tories! However, one of two things will take place: he will get the Bill passed unmutilated, or he will not: if the former, he may be as *vigorous* as he pleases afterwards: if the latter, he will be nothing at the end of twenty-four hours from the time of his failure,—for he may be well assured that nobody will entertain hopes a third time.

The Cholera Battles arise from an opinion in the people, that the sick people are taken away to be dissected. This is erroneous no doubt; but its

effect is very terrible ; for, people being taken away by compulsion, their relations make a dreadful outcry ; and fights frequently ensue ; so that the Whig sword-bearing police, guard the doctors and the *cholera carts* through the streets. At Paisley the battles have been still more serious. I insert the account from the *Glasgow Chronicle*. The account is made as unfavourable as possible to the people of Glasgow by the infernal hired press. However, here it is, and let it bear record of the transactions under this Whig Ministry.

#### CHOLERA BATTLE AT PAISLEY.

On going out to meet the mob from the Moss, the sheriff and magistrates, accompanied by two or three other individuals, fell in with them in the narrow passage, Glen's Lane. On a signal from Sheriff Campbell, the coffin borne by the crowd was lowered to the ground ; and that gentleman addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct, at the same time expressing his detestation of the resurrection system which had been going on. While he was engaged in this, those on the outside of the crowd were calling out for the raising of the coffin, and in the attempt to do so, through the exertions of Provost Gilmour, and some of the police officers, it was broken to pieces. The crowd succeeded in getting a piece of it up, however, and commenced pelting those who were resisting them, and Neil Whyte, a police officer, who had taken an active part, was considerably injured and under the necessity of taking refuge in a house, the windows of which were broken. They then entered the town, smashed in the shop-windows of Mr. Vessey, St. James's place ; from that they proceeded to the shop of Mr. William Young, Old Sneddon-street, the windows of which were rendered a complete wreck ; then to the house of Doctor A. K. Young, of New Sneddon-street, and smashed the windows of it likewise. Here a halt for a short time took place till the future course should be resolved on, and the rabble then proceeded direct towards

the Cholera Hospital by the front of the County Buildings, and up the School Wynd. When they came opposite the hospital, they were shortly addressed by Mr. Robert Wright, on the wickedness of breaking the windows or anything else about the establishment, and on the cruel results likely to follow to the poor patients. This advice had the desired effect at the time, and they passed by the hospital, forced up the gate, loosed the horse out of the cholera hearse, and ran off with the carriage, and broke the windows of Dr. Kerr and Son, in passing through Orr-street. The next route was down Storie-street towards the canal, for the purpose of throwing the vehicle into it ; but on reaching George-street, and recollecting there were some surgeons in the neighbourhood, they changed their course, went up George-street, and broke the windows of Mr. Bell and Mr. Falconer, surgeons, and plundered the shop of the former gentleman of some articles. They then came up the Lady-lane, and down High-street, gave a cheer opposite the house of Mr. Stewart, surgeon (who is unjustly represented to be an unbeliever in cholera), broke a few panes in the shop of Mr. Henderson, a member of the Board of Health, and in the tenement in which he resides ; then proceeded direct to the residence of Doctor M'Kinlay, Medical Secretary to the Board of Health in New-street, broke all the windows of his shop, and the Trades' Library, and several of those in his house ; next to the shop of Mr. Lymburn, surgeon, Causey-side, where a great deal of damage was done ; from that to the residence of Mr. Jeffrey, surgeon, Orchard-street, broke the windows of his house and shop, then proceeded (all the while with the hearse in their possession, breaking and smashing it as they went) along Seedhills bridge, through Cotton-street, and broke the windows of Dr. Torbet's house, and those in the house and shop of Dr. M'Kechnie, in a very serious manner, in their passage up towards the Cross. When at the West-end of the old bridge. Mr. John Bell, Woodside, went forwards alone and took the remains of the hearse from them, which

by this time had little else than the axle and wheels left. Mr. Bell was soon joined by some others, who assisted him in keeping possession of the wreck. The mob having thus gone over the most part of the town, and having lost their main object of attraction, began to thin considerably, but a number of them went down to the county buildings, where a party of the military from the barracks and the staff of the Renfrewshire militia had by that time assembled to pacify them. At this time we understand that the sheriffs and magistrates made an offer of paying a party of labourers to go over the whole of the burying-ground to inspect the graves, under the direction of a committee which the crowd had chosen at the burying-ground.

In the course of the riot a party, headed by two chimney-sweeps of the name of Green and Welsh, broke the windows of the hospital, struck the dying patients, forced the doors, and broke open and plundered the spirit-store. A meeting of special constables took place in the Court Hall in the evening, at which it was resolved that they should do duty over the hospital and other places where there was any likelihood of a disturbance taking place. At this meeting it was also stated that the people employed in examining the graves had gone over a considerable number, and that in every case the body was found in the coffin. It was accordingly resolved that this notice, with the names of those engaged as labourers, and that of the committee who had superintended them, should be instantly published to allay the public excitement, and that the examination should be continued till the whole of the graves were gone over.

This party accordingly resumed their labours next day, and when they had gone over 21 graves, every one of which had the body in the coffin, at the suggestion of a member of the Board of Health, who was on the spot, the ground in the immediate vicinity of the grave, where the first empty coffin was found, was examined, and on going a short way into the next grave, on the south to the one in question, a resurrec-

tionist's hook, and a parcel of grave-clothes were found, and on reaching the coffin it was found to contain a woman's petticoat only. The examination was continued till about half-past five at night, when the whole coffins buried there, 80 in number, were gone over, and the bodies were found in the whole of them, with the exception of three.

### RURAL AFFAIRS.

IN the last *Trash*, just published, I have given full directions for planting, cultivating, and applying COBBETT'S CORN, as far as LABOURERS, or persons growing small quantities, are concerned. Those who grow large quantities must refer to my "TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN," and particularly to the ADDITION which I made to it last autumn, when I published a new edition of the book. Some Registers back I said, that when I got home, I would give an account of my mangel-wurzel beer. I find that it has been rummaged about in my absence; and that, at any rate, it would have been but rather bad small beer. I suppose that it was not made in the proper manner; and so the reader will suppose, when he has read the following letter, the signature to which I do not put, because it is not necessary; because I have not the leave of the writer to publish his name, though I dare say he would have no objection to it. Now I beg this gentleman to have the goodness to write me a letter, telling me very exactly how he makes his beer. I know the qualities well of the mangel wurzel: for horses, cows, pigs, sheep, I know it to be the most valuable root of all. I have some sugar recently made from it in Essex; and very beautiful sugar it is. I shall soon, I hope, have a complete treatise ready to publish on the subject; but, in the mean while, I want the information from this gentleman, in order that I may set the labouring men to work upon it all over the kingdom.

"Paisley, 31st of March, 1832.

"SIR,—Have the goodness to send "the value of the inclosed, One Pound,

"in mangel-wurzel seed, addressed to  
"me here. Let it be sent to Carron  
"Wharf, to be shipped per smack.—  
"Last April I purchased at your shop  
"20lbs. of the seed, which turned out  
"exceedingly well, being all of the right  
"sort, and yielded a produce at the rate  
"of 45 tons per acre.—I have brewed  
"beer from this root regularly, for the  
"last three years: and find it very good.  
"It will produce the strength of Lon-  
"don porter, at a cost not exceeding  
"four-pence per gallon, calculating the  
"root at 25s. a ton, which price it sold  
"at here last season.—I observe you in-  
"tend giving a treatise on this subject  
"soon, which I am confident will be of  
"great value to farmers and others who  
"may cultivate the plant.—I remain,  
"Sir, " —

" William Cobbett, Esq."

N.B. My friends, Mr. JOSEPH JOHNSTONE, of Manchester; Mr. ABEL HELLWELL, of Huddersfield; and Mr. WM. MARTIN, of Birmingham (or Cotteridge Farm); have some of all my seeds, which they will be so obliging as to let anybody have at the prices specified by me, and which are not quite half so high as the seedsmen's prices. They, I am told, accuse me of *underselling* them; with more reason I might accuse them of *overselling me!* I am told that they reproach me with selling MANGEL-WURZEL seed at  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound, while they sell it for 18d. I wanted to sell all to them, but I could find none of them who would GIVE ME FOUR-PENCE A POUND FOR IT! As to the *quality*, it is the *very best* that I ever saw.

#### MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

THE following letter, by Mr. WHITTLE, the editor of the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, my readers will thank me for inserting. The intentions of the far greater part of those who are engaged in these establishments, are excellent; and, I hope, that *this* establishment will be preserved from the uses to

which others, under the same name, have been applied. *That* which is in London, is a mere tool of the Government. WILMOT HORTON lectured in its theatre, in favour of a scheme for *sending the working people out of the country*; and he, in his lectures, censured me by name for my opinions on the subject; *this was not politics*; but when I wanted to hire the theatre, in order to answer him, it was a rule of the Institute *not to permit politics* to be discussed in the theatre! I hope that this Institute of Manchester will be preserved from uses like this. I most cordially agree in Mr. WHITTLE's opinions on the subject: I am for no doctrines that teach working people to be *content with empty bellies*: I do not like "*intellectual*" payment for bodily labour: a proof of real "*ignorance*" is, in my mind, *quiet submission to tyranny*: I despise the man who, when children cry for bread, gives them "*nice little moral books*": I detest the hypocrite who, when the people call for *good and cheap government*, tells them *first* to reform themselves: I say that that man is a fool as well as a knave, who pretends to seek public liberty by the means of teaching men that they are *never to resist oppression*: I assert, that all associations, be they what they may, which teach "*passive obedience and non-resistance*," are base and detestable: I know it to be a monstrous error to suppose, that the chopsticks (who, in fact, have produced all the recent changes) have been *ignorant* of what they have been doing, or of the *consequences*, remote as well as near, of their acts. In Mr. WHITTLE's sentiments with regard to Mr. HETHERINGTON I heartily concur, and I beg leave to be understood as here repeating his words.

#### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

Gentlemen,—On the evening of your third anniversary, which I had the great pleasure of celebrating with you, it was stated by one of your members that you had departed from a resolution originally taken to exclude works on politics from your library;—certainly politics

were not excluded from your evening's entertainment. There were several political allusions made in the course of the evening, and several principles of politics stated, on which I should have been disposed to offer a few observations, particularly as I then, for the first time, had the pleasure of meeting you as a body, had not the lateness of the hour to which your evening was protracted, before any opportunity of addressing you presented itself to me, made it unbecoming in me to detain you longer than the purpose for which I rose seemed imperatively to demand. On referring, however, to the report of the addresses on that very interesting evening, it appears to me to contain so much to invite commentary, that I cannot forbear taking this opportunity of recalling your attention to it.

It has sometimes been made matter of reproach to me, that I have seemed not to interest myself warmly in the success of either of the Mechanics' Institutions in Manchester. That I should have felt little interest in the success of the first, is naturally accounted for by the same motives which have induced you to establish a second. Those motives I have always regarded with the highest respect, as reflecting the greatest honour on those who had the virtue to feel them, and the spirit to act upon them; and, in proportion to the interest which I am sure you will give me credit for taking in the liberty and in the well-being of the working man, was my wish to see that virtue and that spirit crowned with the success which they deserved. My interest in your success was not, however, altogether unmixed with anxiety. I felt the important influence which mechanics' institutions might exercise on the political relations of society; I saw corruption watching over their birth, for the purpose of vitiating and debasing them,—the purpose of converting them into engines of hostility to the just rights of the labouring man; I knew that the church establishment itself, and all its uses, subsist on the pretence of giving instruction, of giving useful instruction to the people; I knew that

Lord BROUHAM and VAUX, who is now the champion of that church establishment; I knew that Captain BASIL HALL, who wrote an article in the *Quarterly Review*, to prove that France could not get on without a parliament controlled by an aristocracy; to prepare the English people for the ordinances of POLIGNAC, and to justify Charles the Tenth, for repealing the charter, in order to save the French people from themselves; I knew that the Sierra Leone jobber, ZACHARY MACAULAY—I knew that the recent attorney-general, Sir JAMES SCARLETT, and his every-way worthy brother and successor, Sir THOMAS DENMAN,—I knew that the great pawnbroking silk-merchant, JAMES MORRISON, Esq., who within these few years has accumulated a fortune of millions by his *honest industry*, and soared from the counter-side to a seat in Parliament,—I knew that that spawn of a loanmonger, BINGHAM BARING, for striking whom COOK of Micheldever was hanged,—I knew that GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD, Esq., the worthy president of our Manchester Chamber of Commerce,—I knew that each and all of these had been officers of the Society for diffusing USEFUL KNOWLEDGE,—I knew that each and all of these were active patrons of mechanics' institutions,—and I knew, as I hope you know too, that there is not a man amongst them who would not see the people really "*taking their affairs into their own hands*," with about the same complacency with which Satan looked down upon the bowers of Paradise,—and who does not tender to the people his "*useful knowledge*" with about the same benevolent intentions with which the tempter invited Eve to the forbidden fruit. It was not, therefore, without anxiety that I watched even your society, based though it was on principles of the purest democracy; and I confess that I felt my anxiety increased, when I found that your society was to be graced with the name of a political patron.

It is a common maxim with the shallow praters about abstract liberty, that the arts and sciences cannot flourish

where liberty is wanting. It is a maxim as common with tyrants, and a maxim much more sound, that the true policy of crafty tyrants is, to give the utmost encouragement to arts and sciences, in order to divest the minds of quick-witted men from prying into the abuses of government. This is the account to which the above-named friends of liberty have hoped to turn the establishment of mechanics' institutes ; and, while they retain upon the statute-book laws which were passed to deprive the people of cheap publications ; laws for which Lord PLUNKETT voted, on the ground that the people were becoming too intelligent, and ought to be placed, *by law*, at a greater distance from secrets of state ; while they thus indirectly secure to themselves *a monopoly of school-masters*, and all the positive advantages of a *censorship* ; they circulate, *partly at the expense of the public revenue*, those cheap publications which are so much applauded ; and not satisfied with the old trick of tyrants, of diverting the attention from polities, they endeavour to make their *cheap publications* the channels of perverted polities, of every sophistry, by which the principles of liberty can be undermined, its nature obscured, and its practical restoration in England retarded.

One doctrine they preach openly, and that is *passive obedience* ; not, however, as a *matter of duty*, but as a *proof of wisdom*. Others they advance more covertly, under the shelter of some well-sounding general proposition. As, for instance, "ignorance is the cause of misery." The conclusion which it is hoped we will draw is, that we must not look to Government to relieve our miseries, *till our ignorance is first removed* ; and as ignorance must be removed very slowly from amongst a people who are over-worked and under-paid, and who have, therefore, neither time, opportunity, nor spirits for acquiring knowledge of any kind, this process will give tyranny a very distant day of account. Or, to give another instance,—"All nations have as good governments as they deserve ;" from which the deduction is, that when the

government does wrong, instead of correcting them, we must reproach ourselves. All these are the sophistries of tyranny ; and all these, down even to the question of passive obedience, appeared to me to receive a sort of indirect admission from some quarter or other, in the course of the evening.

Let it not be supposed that these observations are offered in that spirit of captious criticism, which some of the speakers so unnecessarily deprecated. I assent most fully to the justice of the observations made by your chairman in the course of the evening, that the members acquitted themselves as speakers, better than the visitors. I found, in all I witnessed, additional motives for feeling proud of the advocacy of the people's rights. I not only believe that the attachment of the members to those rights is as cordial as my own ; but I have the satisfaction of knowing that many of them concur in all my views of the exact nature of those rights, and of the parties and the men, who are likely to restore us to their full enjoyment. I hope, therefore, that you will not deem it either invidious or presumptuous, if I seem to assume that, without possessing a better knowledge of first principles, my closer attention to the views of parties, and my more constant observance of the characters and conduct of public men, have put me more upon my guard than some of you, against the reception of specious sophistry, and against reliance upon worthless allies.

The first speech to which I shall more particularly revert is that of Mr. BEARD. "*What! do you object to that?*" I do. "*Do you place him among our WORTHLESS allies?*" In the sense in which I use the word, I do place him among the worthless allies ; I do place him among the allies who will not serve us in our struggle for liberty. And that you may not start at this, know that with those high-sounding professions of attachment to theoretic liberty and popular rights, Mr. BEARD can contrive to unite the closest intimacy with Mr. JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, can contrive to unite support,

applause, and admiration of his paper. Do I affect to discover in these circumstances a proof of Mr. BEARD's insincerity? Far from it. But I do discover in them the proof, that the admission of general principles is not, of necessity, a practical love of freedom,—is not, of necessity, an active scorn of consummate political and personal baseness. I do discover in it the proof that Mr. BEARD will be but a useless ally of the people.

But what I object to in Mr. BEARD's speech is this—

"Much as the doctrine was recognised, that the Government could work out for the people its good, his opinion was, that the people must work out good for themselves; *it was not a good Government that made a nation happy*; but *honest hearts and active minds made the government good*, and the people being placed, by their *moral and intellectual power*, in the position which they ought to occupy, they will, in the elevation of the base of society, raise the whole structure."

Now if good government be not capable of making a people happy, why should good government be an object of desire? Why is any thing desirable on this earth but as conducing to secure individual or general happiness? Or does it mean only that the *good people* must come first, and the *good government* come afterwards? How does it happen, then, that Rome, the asylum of run-away slaves, commenced by establishing a good government; and that, under the institutions of those fugitive vagabonds, grew up the severe morality which laid the broad foundations of the Roman empire? How comes it to pass, then, that America, peopled in great part by the refuse of jails and the outcasts of society, presents an example of national morals, which puts to shame the descendants of the moral people who cut off those outcasts from their community? How comes it, but because the purity of American institutions has purified the morals of her people; and because the corruption of our government here has spread its poison through the community? How comes it, but from the all-important truth that the institutions of every country are the fountains of the morals of the people?

What, then, means this absurdity? It means that Mr. BEARD is a worthless ally of the people; it means that he is the hood-winked disciple of the Change-ally philosophers; it means that the people ought not to expect *any immediate benefit from reform*; that they must *educate themselves first*, and improve the government *afterwards*.

But that this will not do, what further proof need we than the facts stated in the speech of your member, Mr. RICHARDSON—

"The Mechanics' Institution had few members who worked in the factories of this town; and of those few the greater part came to their classes so much fatigued with their daily labour, that it was with the greatest difficulty they were prevented going asleep."

We shall make but slow progress, then, if scientific knowledge is to come before freedom. No! we must plant the tree of liberty first, and pluck its fruit afterwards. And, indeed, if such knowledge were to lead to the results which Mr. RICHARDSON anticipated; if it were really true that in all cases of "*riot*" and "*violation of property*," the persons so *outraging the law*, were persons of inferior intellect and information; that such outrages did not take place "*where education was more general*"; if this were true, this is exactly the result which Lord BROUGHAM and VAUX anticipates from the establishment of Mechanics' Institutions. But before a reformer condemns an outrage of the law, he should ask whether the law be just. It has been the law of England more than once in this century, that the minister should have the power of imprisoning any person for any time, without preferring any charge against such person. If the Reform Bill be thrown out, and if the Duke of WELLINGTON again come into power, this must again be the law of England this very year. And will none resist that law but persons of *inferior intellect and information*? Then perish *intellect and information*; and live the manly spirit of the people; live their hatred of tyrants, live their scorn of passive obedience! But this sentiment of Mr. RICHARDSON does not do justice

to science or to history. The American revolution commenced, as all violent revolts against established authority must commence, by "riot and outrage." In order to evade "taxation without representation," the Americans entered into a combination against the use of tea; but fearing that the cupidity of traders might defeat their object, and a cargo of tea arriving in the port of Boston, some of the inhabitants of the town boarded the vessel in the night, and tossed the whole cargo into the sea. The Americans do not look back to this exploit, as one unworthy of men of *intellect and information!* The taking of the Bastile was a "*riot*;" the raising of the barricades of July was an "*outrage against the law*;" but the gallant youths of the Polytechnic School thought it not unworthy of "*intellect and information*" to rush to the defence of these barricades. To the question of Mr. KEIGHLEY, "*When did we find the members of Mechanics' Institutions breaking through the laws of the land, or concerned in acts of violence?*" my answer is—*In July, 1830, in the streets of Paris.*

Even as concerns the recent tumults in the agricultural counties: what were they? The people, according to the recent testimony of a member of the House of Commons, who had travelled much, were more hardly dealt with than the people of any country in Europe; (and that Europe contains Russia, Austria, Italy, and Portugal; and the country of which we speak is the once "*merry England*;) they were told by those who affected to consider them ignorant, that their wages were low because they were too numerous; they found their country invaded by crowds of poor Irishmen, who, driven by their own necessities, were willing to work for half *their* hire; they rose and drove out the invaders; they found the thrashing which they were ready and willing and *able* to do, done by machinery; they broke that machinery; they insisted generally on the observance of the law of the Scripture, that "*the labourer is worthy of his hire.*" Many have been put to death; many have been trans-

ported, but they have maintained that law; they have at that sacrifice, permanently raised the wages and improved the condition of their fellow-labourers; by doing so; they converted the servile farmers into reformers; and at the same time sent a dagger to the vitals of that which has subsisted, and can only subsist, by the plunder of the industrious, and the oppression of the poor. And does it become us then to speak lightly of the sacrifice? Only as it would become me, who shall enjoy the advantage of his devotion, to speak disparagingly of the efforts of HETHERINGTON, who, running every hazard of prosecution and suffering, bravely publishes his un-stamped paper in defiance of unjust law.

In politics all now depends on this, that the people really rouse themselves, and that they *be not deceived by any vague or general expressions in favour of liberty*. The very men who are now engaged in stifling the throes of liberty in France, are the men who led the opposition to Charles the Tenth. But they did lead it, and it was unavoidable that the people should be deceived by them. But what is history to say of us, if we allow ourselves to be deceived by the party of HUME, who supported the administration of the Duke of WELLINGTON through a whole session, when a breath could have destroyed it; by the party of JOHN WOOD, who was reluctantly driven from the Duke's side, by the Duke's declaration against all reform, and who, returned by the brave weavers and spinners of Preston, is now joining the Ministry to defeat the Ten Hours' Bill, by parliamentary management? With regard to Mr. RICHARD POTTER, he has yet to make his choice *for* the people, or *against* them; I trust he will make it well. He has been with us, and with us I hope he will remain. I hope he will recollect that there is no middle course; that those who are not for us are against us. I should be sorry to find myself *against* him. But *against* him I must be, if he is not *with* the people.

I have too much respect for your love of truth, and for your love of the interest of the people, to suppose that any

apology is necessary for the freedom with which I have considered the opinions of some of your members, or rather their inadvertent assent to the opinions of others, on subjects on which it is my business to weigh all opinions well; and with the confidence, that in the coming struggle, you at least will do your duty,

I am, Gentlemen,  
Your faithful friend,  
and obedient servant,

THE EDITOR OF THE ADVERTISER.

### GOOD NEWS.

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle*; and it is the best piece of news that I have seen for a long time. It shows that the THING is going to pieces in all its parts; that it is stricken; that the hand of death is upon it; that it is sold to the devil, and only wants fetching away.

"The very scanty audiences at the "two great winter theatres, in the beginning of last week, led to the most gloomy reports regarding the intentions of the Managers; and the belief "that Drury-lane would close suddenly "was strengthened by the fact, that "nothing was advertised in the bills to "be played after yesterday. On Thursday night, however, the attendance "on the part of the public was so good "(at least 270*l.* having been taken at "both houses) that a new prospect "seemed to open, and it was resolved "to try the experiment for another "week. However great may have been "Captain Polhill's loss, it is understood "that it has not been so heavy by more "than 2,000*l.* as at Covent-garden—"A prospectus has been issued for the "sale or letting of Covent-garden Theatre, and we understand that a new "and plausible scheme is in agitation, "viz.—for the same person to hire both "Drury-lane and Covent-garden (at a "reduced rent of course), and according "to circumstances nightly, to play "comedy at the one and tragedy at the "other. At present, each theatre is

"obliged to keep a tragedy and a comedy company; but should this scheme be carried into effect, *only one complete body of actors will be necessary*; while the public will have greater variety, both in the pieces and in the performers. It is also in contemplation, in this case, to reduce the prices of admission—the boxes to "5*s.*, the pit to 2*s. 6d.*, and the gallery "to 1*s. 6d.*, abolishing, if possible, the shilling gallery."

There, I look upon that as real good news. I wonder who this wise fellow Captain POLHILL is; I wonder if it be the same little strutting cock that brought WOOD and JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR upon their marrow-bones at Preston? Faith, the clever speculator seems to have got his match here! I do pity these player-folks! All over the kingdom they are in tatters and in ruin. I have driven the jackdaws and bats out of at least half a score of their theatres, which really seem to present, in the way of proxy, the situation of the great tatterdemallion THING. All seems ruin and decay—the cobwebs sticking about everywhere. I must say, that the player-people have always behaved with great civility to me; and, for their own sakes, I rejoice at the prospect of seeing them completely broken up. In the fields and on the downs they may become real shepherds and shepherdesses; real maids of the mill and milkmaids the divers damsels may become; make love in earnest, not in sham; and I can assure the females, that they will find the real "HODGE" a great deal better, a great deal more substantial and satisfactory, than the sham Hodge, whose limbs are made of bolsters, and the red of whose cheeks arises from ruddle. Those of them who are given to sing will find delightful assistance in the larks and the nightingales. The month of May is approaching—just the gay time for the birds. A wheat-field, she having a hook in her hand for cutting up the docks and the thistles, is precisely the scene for a Phillis who has just escaped from the stink of the gas. What a change! How happy these lasses will become! When we consider how they

are wanted in the fields, what a desire they must naturally have to act in reality that which they have so long been acting in sham ! One must have the heart of the devil to wish them to remain where they are.

As to the heroes, they will turn their daggers of lath and tin battle-axes, or rather they will exchange them, for hoes and hooks and other implements of husbandry. I cannot indeed pledge myself that they will find the change altogether so advantageous *to them*: the ladies will be charmed with the rural simplicity and frankness and unhesitating conduct of the swains in real life: but I am afraid that the heroes of the sock and buskin will be found wanting in some of those requisites, which are absolutely indispensable to render their suits successful amongst the female chopsticks; whose great simplicity, and, as Doctor Black would call it, "*want of education*," always make them prefer the substantial to the *antallactual*.

Now to business. If Captain Polhill have a mind to have his theatres filled, he *will let them* to me. I will be bound to fill them, each of them, once a week until the month of June; and he will have the further satisfaction of knowing that sense has, at last, been heard in these regions of everlasting nonsense. If he will let me have his theatres, I will, in the course of a month, make every sane creature in this WEN see clearly, that the people of this country ought not to pay one single farthing more on account of what is called the national debt. If he do not consent to this, I should not at all be surprised to see him compelled to let his houses for cholera hospitals. What a breaking up ! What a surplus population of player folks ! And what is the cause of this melancholy change ? Simply this ; that the chopsticks will no longer live upon potatoes. This is the true cause, and this cause will go working on, reform bill or no reform bill, until the jackdaws and starlings and bats inhabit these two monstrous places. The sooner this takes place the better ; the flashy days of old SHERY

are gone never to return. Of this Captain POLHILL may be assured. Will PETER THIMBLE say that the want of employment here arises from surplus population ? Yet if he do not say this, what becomes of his doctrine ? That doctrine he means to apply, I suppose, only to those who create the victuals, drink, and clothing ; in short, the THING is destroyed : it is not what it was any more. I have always said that the Whigs would destroy it, and they have destroyed it.

OF THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS  
OF THE INCOME  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF SPAIN.

(Continued from No. 14, col. 833, vol. 75.)

CHAPTER VII.

*Of several sorts of income derived to the Church of Spain on account of her Seignories.*

The church in Spain possesses by royal grants, several seignories and domains, in which the tenants and vassals contribute by different payments to the church. From the Gothic times, the church got several appropriations; but according to the system of the age, the land was then cultivated by bondmen, and it was not until the expulsion of the Saracens that the church began to assume seignorial prerogative.

The vassals used to pay to their lords a sort of tribute, formerly called *mincio* and now *luctuosa* (i. e. mournful). This tribute consisted in the best head of cattle in the possession of a vassal at the time of his death. Nobody was exempted from this tribute, the very same domestics in the royal household leaving to the king the horse in their possession when they died. The king, as is already stated, used to convey some of his domains to several persons and churches, as a remuneration for their services ; and in those cases, these

seignors substituted instead of their sovereign, received the same pensions which belonged to the monarch, before his accession, save only the tribute called *monada forera*.

The *luctuosa* was one of those seignorial pensions, and the churches accordingly used to receive it from the tenants and vassals within her domains. This contribution is now unknown in most provinces of Spain except Asturias and Galicia. It was indeed justly abolished, as a tribute which increased the calamity of the afflicted, since the unfortunate persons who were called for the payment of it, besides the grief they had to sustain for the loss of their parents and relatives, were nearly ruined by the loss of part of their cattle, the only means for the support of their families and the cultivation of their farms.

The council of Compostela, in 1114, in consequence of these inconveniences, perfectly known to the fathers, enacted that those tenants who kept up the cultivation of their farms left by their parents, should be exempted from the payment of this tribute; and it is a pity that this wholesome regulation has not been generally enforced, since we regret to see that the sons of the Asturian and Galician farmers are still grieved with the payment of the *luctuosa*, notwithstanding that they keep up the cultivation of their fathers' farms.

The clergy in Asturias and Galicia, generally speaking, are very zealous in the performance of the duties of their holy profession: but it is a pity that this very zeal turns out, though in an indirect way, to the disadvantage of their tenants. They usually entrust the administration of their ecclesiastical property to a sort of contractors with a view to keep themselves disengaged for the pastoral duties of their holy profession, and most of those men being commonly people of covetous habits, do not scruple to rob the poor.

The method observed by the secular seignors, is not so ruinous as that above-mentioned: they keep regularly their *magordomos* or stewards, who are more intimately acquainted with the

true condition of the poor tenants, and who, on the other hand, are affected by interests far different from those of the ecclesiastical contractors; so that, while these commonly extort in an unmerciful manner the *luctuosa*, the others, on the contrary, very seldom or never extort any sort of cattle from the farmers.

The usual manner in which the secular seignors receive the *luctuosa*, is more conformable to the will of the princes who originally granted this prerogative, as well as to the pious intention of the church. Berganza asserts that the tenants could offer in payment *twenty-four maravedis* (little less than two-pence) instead of a cow; and we learn from the *Becerro de Behetrias* (a sort of statistical book) that this was the plan adopted in former times. Now there is nothing settled on this account, so that a great many ruinous law-suits are undertaken for the exactation and payment of the *luctuosa*; and it would be a very wholesome improvement, that a certain sum of money should be generally agreed on and adopted, as an equivalent for the *luctuosa*, and if it could not be the *twenty-four maravedis* of old, at least it might be a moderate contribution.

There is in Galicia another sort of *luctuosa* known under the name of *abadia*, because it is paid to the rectors of parishes usually, called *abades* (abbots) in that kingdom. Those rectors, upon the death of their parishioners, used to receive the best garments or the bed of the dead person, and sometimes both. This tribute is not altogether incompatible with the *luctuosa*, since there are many parishes in which they pay the *luctuosa* to the jurisdictional seignor, and the *abadia* to the rector. Noblemen are exempted from the former, but not from the latter. This tribute is also known in other provinces in Spain, but on a moderate scale; upon the death of a *beneficiarius*, their heirs pay to the rector the clerical cap and the prayer-book of the deceased; but in some bishoprics in Galicia they are bound to pay the horse or mule of the deceased with the harness appertaining to it, the garment used by

the deceased just before his death, his prayer-book, his table with his table service, and moreover the tenth and eighth part of his property. This contribution is very ancient in Spain; but, nevertheless, it originated, no doubt, in violence and oppression. The very same seignors, who cannot but acknowledge the tyranny of this tribute, have come very often to a special agreement with their debtors, whereby this tax is reduced to a moderate sum.

The church in Spain acquired too, on account of her seignories, another sort of income called *infurcion*; or, as it is called in Galicia, *furnage*, which originated in the laws of Leon, under which authority, the kingdom of Galicia was populated after the conquest. In the 25th chapter of the ordinances of Leon, there is a regulation by which any possessor of a house built upon another's soil, is bound to pay to the seignor ten loaves of wheaten bread, half *cantara* of wine (2 gallons), and a good sheep, provided that he have neither a horse, nor an ass. Though this tribute is still in vigour, the seignors have substituted for it an equivalent sum of money, or a quantity of other fruits of the country.

The above-mentioned ordinance of Leon exempts from paying the said tribute those who possess either a horse or an ass, just because they were bound to employ their cattle in the service of the seignor two days in the year.

These and many other sorts of vassalage, an ancient relic of the feudal system, began to disappear gradually, the pecuniary taxes being more conformable to the present state of society than personal services. In the records of the Cortes of Valladolid, 1351, there are sundry indications of the tyrannical abuses introduced under this head; and in the 45th petition the Galicians complain of the covetousness of some seignors who extorted from them personal services without paying them as the ordinances directed. King Don Pedro the Justiciary issued some proclamations to protect his subjects from this oppression; but notwithstanding the justice of his measures, and the

vigour usually displayed by that monarch, the described abuses still subsist in many places. Some ecclesiastical persons, particularly among the monks, receive still this sort of tribute, as a part of their patrimony, according to the principles of the feudal system.

There was in Spain another sort of seignorial pension, called *manneria*, by virtue of which the lord of a domain took possession of the property of any of his vassals who died without lawful heirs: this was a kind of reversion of the property, incident to the territorial dominion of the seignor: but this privilege was far from being a necessary consequence of the dominion, since we observe that it was granted to the monastery of Cardeña, many years after it had got the seignorial domain. A great many churches in Leon and Castille were possessed of this privilege.

Another sort of income incident to the dominion, is the *laudemium*: the possessors of an *enfiteusis*, whenever they convey their lands to another person, must pay a pension to the *enfiteutic* seignor, as an acknowledgment of his dominion: the Spanish law reduced this pension to two per cent. of the price of the sale, which is, certainly, a moderate rate: but in spite of this statute, there are still a great many signors who extort five and even ten per cent. The church of Spain granted some lands of her domain under this sort of *enfiteutic* contract, and accordingly receives the *laudemium* in cases of conveyances.

There are many other kinds of dominical pensions enjoyed by the church in Spain on account of her seignories, which we purposely omit, being not very important.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

##### *Of the Precaria; a contract known under this name.*

1. SINCE the expulsion of the Saracens, the property of the church of Spain was greatly augmented, not only by the means already described; but by some others very little known before that period. We are aware, that, from the times of St. Augustin, some Christians

used to grant their property to the church, keeping, however, for themselves, and during their lifetime, the usufruct of it. This sort of contract is called *Pecaria* by the decretalists. It was already known in Spain from the time of the Goths; since we find it mentioned in the records of the sixth council of Toledo; but at the same time it appears that it was not very often practised. After the expulsion of the Moors from the Peninsula, more frequent mention is made of the *Pecarias*, as we find people at that epoch giving their property to the church, with the condition of retaining it during their lives; and thus it acquired the dominion of it, leaving the usufruct to the donors until their deaths. Others consecrated to God all their goods, giving the property and usufruct to the church. Its administration was entrusted to the ecclesiastical ministers, who also took care to provide the givers with all they wanted.

2. The exemption of tributes that the property of the church enjoyed, was a very powerful inducement for many to give up their patrimony, with the agreement of retaining it during their lives, paying a small pension in acknowledgement of the dominion which they had given up. The people with pleasure made these donations, because from their liberality the very donors derived profit. The tax which the church imposed was as light as they could wish; and generally they did not pay so much, by reason of the property so contributed as before they had yielded it up. With this artifice, what they lost by their donations was very little; but this miserly liberality was highly prejudicial to their fellow-citizens, because what they did not pay to the royal exchequer was overcharged to the other contributors.

3. It appears that this corrupt practice was more common in the kingdom of Arragon than in that of Castille, because I have no knowledge of any precaution being taken but of that in the Cortes of Saragossa, in the year 1372. In it, at the instance of the people, it was determined that those who made donations of their property to the clergy

or to the church, with the condition of retaining it, should pay all the while that they possessed it, the same royal taxes that they did before they made such donations.

4. The church was acquiring by degrees as much revenue and as many privileges as it now possesses in Spain: as the patrimony of the church increased the hatred of the people, who could not see with indifference so much property taken from those liable to pay taxes, leaving so little to meet the weight of taxation, in a time when wars were of daily occurrence.

5. The clamours of the people moved our kings to put a stop to the unlimited power the church possessed of acquiring not only by general laws but also by particular charters. In the twelfth century the Spaniards were so displeased with the acquisitions of the church, that in the charter which Alfonso VII. gave to Baera, he introduced the following law:—"No one shall sell or give to "the monks, or men of religious order, "any real property; because, as their "order prohibits them to sell or give "real property to laymen, so it is pro- "hibited to you (laymen) by your "charter and custom, to do the same." All these limitations lost their vigour in consequence of the dreadful plague which afflicted Spain in the years 1349-50; and all former complaints were renewed which our sovereigns had endeavoured to silence with their orders.

6. In the year 1351, the Cortes met in Valladolid, by order of Don Pedro the Cruel, and the representatives of the towns repeatedly urged the renewal of the laws of amortization; but as the tumults of that reign did not allow the consolidation of such dispositions, their desires were never fulfilled. From that period the property of the church continued to increase, as was confessed by the Spanish clergy, in the convocations of 1608. By the information taken for the establishment of one general tax, we know that the ecclesiastical revenue of the twenty-two provinces of Castille, amounted to 29,713,667 reals; but we know, too, that in the year 1747 the number of churchmen consisted of

137,627. All these were to be maintained with the revenues arising from the patrimony of the church of Spain ; besides the great number of laymen servants, who were provided for at his expense, the indispensable cost of the worship and repairing of so many churches, hermitages, seminaries, colleges, hospitals, and monasteries, where a great portion of the Spanish youth is educated, and the sick poor cured with much care and attended to. It will be a matter of wonder to one divested of prejudice, to know the economy with which churchmen divide their revenues, taking into consideration the enormous expenses required for the performance of so many obligations which fall upon the patrimony of the church, the sum which the king receives, and the part appropriated to the military orders. This admiration will be further increased, when it is seen, that after satisfying the above-mentioned charges, there remains sufficient to serve the state, not only in ordinary and perpetual necessities, but also in the extraordinary ones, as the nation always found in the church a prompt and not a scanty succour. The only thing to be justly desired, is, the more equal distribution of the patrimony of the church among her ministers.

#### CHAPTER IX.

##### *Of the Oblations and First Fruits.*

1. When Jesus Christ established his church, the only patrimony he assigned to the ministers of the gospel was the charity of the faithful. The Christians, from the beginning, presented to the ministers, through their offerings, what was necessary for their maintenance. These offerings were always voluntary contributions of the faithful. Our holy bishops abhorred the idea of any being compelled to present them. This novelty was not authorised in our church until the expulsion of the Saracens. The faithful offered voluntarily to God, through the ministers, bread, wine, money, deeds of donations of real property, and, lastly, anything they chose.

2. In the council of Braga it was

prohibited to offer on the altar more than bread, wine, and water. But, notwithstanding the Christians refrained not from offering the same oblations, it is true that the offerings were not presented at the sacred table, but in a place appointed for the purpose of collecting them, called Gazo-Phylacium, where the deacons examined whether those who made offerings to God were worthy of having their offerings received ; because no one was allowed to offer who was not permitted to communicate. These offerings were afterwards divided by the deacons between the ministers of the church, according to their merits and necessities, but with the due subordination to the bishop.

3. In the first ages the custom of offerings was very frequent. St. Cyprian, St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and St. Charles Borremens, full of holy zeal, tried to preserve and re-establish this custom. In truth, they were not induced to promote this pious custom, on account of the advantages the clergy derived from the offerings, but on account of the spiritual benefits of the faithful themselves. The mother of St. Augustin never dared to approach the altar, without offering to God some part of the gifts which she had received from his bountiful hand. All those were grieved whose offerings were not accepted by the deacons, because the Eliberitan fathers, for punishing those who did not communicate, had prohibited their offerings being received. In the present day the custom of offering is so much out of use, that no one would be aggrieved by being prevented from offering ; as this pious custom is only preserved in the villages of some provinces, where the simplicity of the inhabitants adheres tenaciously to the old traditions.

4. The great accumulation of property acquired by the church has been a powerful inducement to the people to discontinue their oblations ; as we now wonder at the liberality with which many great towns contribute to the maintenance of so many monks, whose only patrimony is the charity of the inhabitants. We see, too, that notwith-

standing some of the rectors are in greater want of those alms than the very friars, the parishioners are more inclined to present them to the convents than to parish churches, because they do not consider them in so great necessity.

5. To remedy this abuse, and to prevent the rectors of poor churches being in want of the necessities of life, the diocesan synods were obliged to take some methods that were considered indispensable. In some bishoprics it was necessary to oblige parishioners to make offerings. But to prevent disputes, which would be the consequence of forced offerings, it was determined what the people should offer for baptisms, weddings, and funerals; and in some synods it was determined, too, what was presented to the minister at the hour of death.

6. By virtue of those measures, authorised by royal laws, the rectors received as legitimate debts the offerings of their parishioners, and gave to them, justly, the name of parochial rights. In almost all the provinces of Spain, though nothing should be offered to the church on account of an individual deceased, yet the heirs are obliged to pay, in the way of offering what is assigned to the rector, without discount, according to the custom of the country. The offerings made at the funerals served not only as an atonement for the dead, but also as a sign that the deceased died in the communion of the faithful: for this reason the custom of offerings was justly introduced in the first ages.

7. There is no doubt that the rectors, not having sufficient means of subsistence, might oblige the parishioners to make offerings; but they would not be such if they were not made willingly, because God appreciates only that which is offered to him with holy cheerfulness. To obviate this inconvenience, and to remove from the clergy the slightest shade of covetousness, it was prohibited by St. Charles, the most zealous promoter of canonical discipline, that the presbyters of Milan should receive, even under the title of alms, any thing for the administration of the sacraments.

Necessity sometimes obliges the most zealous prelates to relax something from the strictest discipline; therefore it is not strange that, in some of our synods, measures may have been taken contrary to those of St. Charles. There are various churches in Spain whose revenues are not sufficient for the maintenance of its rectors, therefore it was necessary to provide for their subsistence. Notwithstanding, it appears that there was no necessity of laws general to all the dioceses, if especial measures were enough to relieve the poverty of some of their churches.

8. Daily experience shows us the reluctance with which those involuntary contributions are presented by the faithful, and the liberality with which they offer when no precept impels them. Man naturally abhors coercion, and legislators ought to accommodate themselves to his ideas if they wish their laws to be permanent. As the people of Navarra had no precept which obliged them to make offerings in the new masses and baptisms, they showed themselves so liberal in their donations that it was necessary to limit their generosity.

We find, too, that in various provinces of Spain, the peasants offer sparingly on the days when they should present their oblations to God, and they shew their liberality in the funerals of their fellow-citizens when they are not compelled to make offerings.

9. In the first ages of the church the custom of oblations was general, as no one, unless very poor, approached the altar without some offering; and we lament the discontinuance of so pious a custom.

In the funerals all made abundant offerings to God for the souls of the departed, and at the end of the fatal year they repeated them, celebrating with the priests and the poor a pious anniversary in commemoration of them. This custom is preserved now only in some villages, and though in almost all the kingdom something is offered by the heirs of him whose obsequies are celebrated, but not being voluntarily offered it is rejected by God.

10. The holy archbishop of Milan was desirous of restoring this custom in his diocese as a thing so commended in the ancient law; as a thing practised from the time of the apostles, interrupted by the corruption of custom, and impugned only by the enemies of the church, but would not impose upon the people confided to his care any precept for offering. His zeal was satisfied with recommending to the preachers to instruct the faithful in the usefulness of making offerings to God, in order to obtain his pardon for their sins by presenting to the Creator through the hands of his ministers so acceptable a worship.

11. The synod celebrated in Oviedo in the year 1769, followed as nearly as possible in the steps of St. Charles, by preserving in the diocese the use of oblations which should not have the defect of want of willingness, and ordained that the people should continue offering in all the parishes where they were established; at the same time leaving to their choice the quality and quantity of such offering.

Before the invasion of the Saracens, all were buried in their parish churches, because the churches of the monasteries had not the privileges they now enjoy, that of burying the dead. After their expulsion, many parishes were given to the care of the monks, and their churches converted into monasteries, in whose yards were interred the parishioners. The kings and grandees founded many monasteries, where they generally were buried; and their example, and the privileges given to the monks to the prejudice of the rectors, were powerful stimulants to the faithful in preferring the sepulchres of the convents to those of the churches, where during life they had received the sacraments. The offerings were brought with the corpses, and though all the oblations made in limits of the parishes belonged to the rector, the friars received them justly if according to the will of the deceased persons, because they depended on the inclination of the offerers, and the same Deity it was to whom they were consecrated in the parishes and in the monasteries.

13. Those offerings were necessary for the proper maintenance of the rectors, and it was right that he who administered the spiritual food to the faithful while living, should receive some remuneration at their death. It was therefore ordained by our laws, that if any one should be buried out of his parish church for the sake of defrauding the rector, the rector could claim the body and the accompanying offer. It was also ordained, that any person might choose his own place of interment, provided he left some legacy to his own parish church; at the same time giving the rector the right of taking the fourth part of all the offerings made in the churches where their parishioners were buried, excepting those which had a determined purpose.

14. The poverty of the parish churches has been the cause of the rectors having acquired, by an uninterrupted custom, the right of receiving from their parishioners various taxes under the name of offerings. It appears, that the causes of those offerings having ceased in many parishes, the rights ought to have ceased also, yet they still continue to exact them in the same way.

15. Most of the abbots of Galicia (rectors) are not in need of such means to maintain themselves as respectably as their order requires, and therefore would willingly admit a law prohibiting such oblations, as being excessive; but until this be done, they will continue to receive them. Some of them believe that their conscience requires them to preserve all the rights belonging to their churches: others fear that their superiors will punish their apparent negligence: and there are others also who have not sufficient with the richest livings to satisfy their covetousness and unbounded luxuries, so that there is but little hope for the Galicians to be freed from the oppressive yoke of so many taxes.

16. At this epoch the patrimony of the church was augmented by another species of offering unknown in the fifteenth century. Our laws prescribe that the executors commissioned to

dispose of the property of the testators, may employ the fifth part of the inheritance for the prayers of their souls. They decree, too, that if the executor does not accomplish his commission within a year, the property of the deceased may pass to their heirs at law, with the obligation of distributing the fifth part of it in favour of his soul if they are not legitimate descendants or ascendants of him to whom they succeed. Authorised by these laws, the ecclesiastical judges, and even the rectors, disposed of the fifth part of the inheritance. This was expended in prayers, and the produce acquired by the church and the clergy; but the inheritors were deprived of the power of distributing it in the pious works they would have wished, and which was given them by the law.

17. Not satisfied with this, they extended the above-mentioned provisions to cases where no will was left, so that notwithstanding the law of Toro, the rectors consumed the fifth part of the property of their parishioners who died intestate, in prayers, even though they had legitimate ascendants or descendants. Certainly this was an abuse contrary to the pious intentions of the church. To remedy this, it was ordained that the rectors should not compel the inheritors of their parishioners to expend in prayers the fifth part of the inheritance as formerly. The only thing now allowed them is to inform the judge to whose jurisdiction the defendant belongs, that he should compel him to celebrate the obsequies according to the custom of the country.

18. There are in Spain some churches which by reason of some especial vow receive from the towns some taxes. Their inhabitants, grateful for the benefit received from God, through the intercession of some saints, made themselves tributary, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of their gratitude. The two most famous offerings are those of the vows of St. Billan and St. James.

19. When Don Bamiro I. assembled the Spanish army to free his vassals from the infamous tribute of the one hundred maids, he saw this famous apostle St. James fighting in his favour,

and since then, our armies begin their battles with the cry of St. James; and it is believed, that since that time he was recognised patron of Spain; and grateful for the singular benefit of the glorious victory obtained at Clavijo, through the mediation of St. James, made himself tributary to his holy church. We are not acquainted with the amount of the pension assigned, and it therefore depends upon custom, which is different in the different towns which are subject to this tax.

20. In the year 938, the brave Abderamen, king of Cordova, and the Mahometan princes of Africa and Spain united, formed an army of 150 thousand foot soldiers, and 50 thousand horse, and threatened the total ruin of the Christians. The first who appeared to check their pride, was the King of Leon, who after having implored the protection of St. James in his own temple, met the enemy at Simaneas, and gained a famous battle. The Moors who escaped from the army of Leon, met in their flight with the Castillians, who under the command of Count Fernan Gonzalez, put an end to them. Those victories were as useful to the kingdom of Leon, as to that of Castille, and both grateful to divine favour; the Count and his people obliged themselves with solemn vows to pay to the monastery of St. Millan, linen, oxen, wine, and other produce of their lands. The Castillians paid this tax for some years, but it is not at present recognised.

#### CHAPTER X.

##### *Of the Alms for Masses.*

1. Our Saviour not only offered himself at the cross a ransom for the human race, but, remaining among men, would that we should every day renew the memory of his sacred passion. For this purpose he gave to his apostles and successors the power of consecrating his precious body and blood. From the beginning the church never failed to celebrate the sacred mysteries, establishing certain forms of prayer which differed according to times, and the different discipline of different provinces.

2. The celebration of this holy sacrifice, called mass, a word derived according to some, from the Hebrew *Misach*, which means, oblation or offering, and according to others, from the word *Mes*, which means among the northern nations, festivity or congregation. St. Isidore says, that this word mass comes from the Latin *Missio*, which signifies leave, because the faithful should not go out of the church until dismissed by the minister, and they have received his benediction.

3. Though from the time of the apostles, private masses were used among the Christians, the faithful were not admitted to them, as the church always desired that all should be present and assist at the masses, which the bishops celebrated with their clergy; which is the present practice in some cathedrals on certain days. It seems that this discipline began to change when the piety of the Christians relaxed, and they failed in their attendance at the sacred table. We know that at the time of St. Augustin, it was prohibited that the priests should admit the faithful to private masses, on holy days. This prohibition existed yet in the eighth century, as Theodolphus, Bishop of Orleans, who flourished in the year 781, repeated a similar precept in the instructions to his diocese.

4. In Spain the same discipline was observed, because, though in the first council of Toledo it was determined that all churchmen should be present at the mass, which was celebrated daily at the principal church, the priests were not prohibited from celebrating one or more private masses each day. According to ancient discipline the priest could only celebrate one mass at each altar, and therefore we see that in the churches there were altars besides the principal one. This is proved by the inscription copied by the bishop, Don Pelago, which, though after the councils of Toledo, shows that this discipline was then already introduced in Spain; as the ecclesiastical laws made by the Goths were observed in the first ages of the restoration of this monarchy.

5. The faithful were participators in

the spiritual advantages of the mass, by means of oblations, and therefore the church wished that all should offer, though this privilege was not available to every one. The person who made an offering was admitted to the communion, and as among the Christians there were always some who on account of their crimes could not be admitted, it was ordered that their offering should not be accepted until their re-admission to the communion of the faithful, at the end of their canonical penance.

6. The deacons were to examine into the merits of the offerers to participate in the divine mysteries, and received or rejected their offerings. After this scrutiny the oblations were made at the end of the singing of the creed, and after the offerers were named by the deacons, the priests prayed for them in particular.

7. Though the sacrifice of the mass is of infinite value on account of the sacred victim offered in it, the church always believed that especial application was of great importance to the faithful; for which reason St. Monica requested her son St. Augustin always to make mention of her in the holy sacrifice. This custom was very popular in Spain from the first Christian ages, and we find in the Muzarabic missals, prayers pronounced by the priests after naming each of the offerers, and even at the present day those especial commemorations are made in the mementos.

8. In the council of Merida, 666, it was ordained that the priests every Sunday in their churches should make especial commemoration in the mass, of the founders and benefactors, whether alive or dead. This gratitude demonstrated by the church towards her benefactors still continues in an improved degree, as, instead of a weekly mass for them, one is daily performed in all cathedrals and monasteries, and the same celebrated in parish churches for their parishioners on the days in which they are required to attend the mass.

9. In it offerings were presented to God by the faithful, through the priest, of any thing they thought proper, but generally they consisted of bread

and wine, of which sufficient was consecrated for present use, and the rest divided between the bishop and priests in the cathedrals, and the rector and his ministers in parish churches.

10. In the council of Braga, 572, it was prohibited to offer any other things than wine, bread, and water, but notwithstanding others were made and deposited in the appointed place, as is mentioned by Cardinal Bona. But it does not appear that money was offered in Spain at mass previous to the council of Merida, 666; in its canonical rules we find that at the time the faithful communicated, which was only at the mass, they offered money for the maintenance of the priests.

11. It does not appear that in any of the western churches any other bread was used but the common sort, before the seventh century; and if, at a time when only common bread was used at the mass, the ministers accepted offerings of money, it is not likely they would refuse it when it was necessary to buy a particular kind for the sacrament. This custom was established in Spain, 693, by the sixteenth council of Toledo, when it was ordained that the priests should in future consecrate, instead of common bread, small white loaves made for that purpose. From that time offerings of money were more frequently made.

12. In the time of St. Augustin these offerings were customary, as he writes to Bishop Valerius, that if any one should offer money it should directly be divided among the poor. St. Peter Damianus, who lived in 1057, says, that a duchess offered to him, while saying mass, some monies of gold named *Byzantios*; and the same saint having found a piece of money when a boy, presented it to a priest to say mass for the soul of his father, according to his Life written by John the Monk. Honori Augustodomensis, who lived in 1130, says, that after the faithful began to absent themselves from the communions, the custom of offering money in the mass commenced. From these facts it appears that in the twelfth century this custom was already general.

13. The faithful made their offerings

for the maintenance of the priests, which was thus secured. He who officiates at the altar, should be maintained by the altar, as says St. Paul. To participate in the offerings was to receive an equivalent for the introduction of unfermented bread or azymus, the offerings in kind having ceased. St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Mes, who lived in 1750, was of opinion that the priest might receive any alms from the faithful, and dispose of it as he pleased. This opinion is approved by the divines of the church, because the priest does not receive the money on account of the consecration, but for his maintenance.

14. According to the old canonical rules, offerings made in the mass were divided among all the clergy, but we do not know when those offerings began to be considered as belonging to the officiating priest. Some think that this custom was not established until the twelfth century, but we may presume that it commenced in Spain in the sixth, or perhaps before.

15. In the council of Tarragona, 516, it was ordained that in churches where there were many priests, they should officiate weekly, alternately, each receiving the offerings during his week of office. This decree occasioned many dissensions, and to obviate them it was ordained in the council of Braga, that one of the churchmen should receive all the offerings made in the commemorations of the dead, and in the festivities of the martyrs, and should be distributed among all once or twice in the year; an order which had no reference to the churches which had but one priest, in this case he received every thing offered.

16. The last-mentioned decree comprehended only the offerings on holy days, but those made in private masses belonged to the officiating priest. This is the meaning of the council of Merida, in whose acts we find that one third was adjudged to the bishop, another to the priests and deacons, and another to the rest of the clergy. The bishops then celebrated the solemn masses, and it was but just that they should receive a greater recompense for their trouble. This proportion between the merit and

reward was the principal ground for the decree of the council of Merida, and upon this principle the offerings of private masses belonged to the officiating priest only, therefore this custom is supposed to have originated in this epoch.

17. The piety of the Christians began to cool in the fourth century. During the persecutions, the Spaniards communicated in all the masses at which they were present, but after peace was conceded they began to cool in their assistance at the sacred table, so that it was found necessary to deprive of the right of offering all those who did not communicate, with the view of exciting them to assist more frequently. This evil increased so much, that notwithstanding the above-mentioned punishment, very few received the communion, and the first council of Toledo was obliged to renew, with certain modifications, the before-mentioned decree, in favour of the many who did not receive the communion.

18. Those deprived of the right of offering, could only partake of the fruits of the sacrifice through the means of alms. Many of the priests were poor, and lived at the expense of the faithful, whose liberality they repaid by applying to them the especial fruits of the masses. We therefore see introduced the custom of receiving alms on account of the said application in the middle of the eighth century.

19. In the ninth, there were many in France who thought that the priests ought to receive but one offering in each mass, in the persuasion that the greater was the number of offerings the less was their merit. This opinion was perhaps new, as in the preceding ages no one believed that the multiplicity of offerings diminished the merit of those who consecrated them to God, and the church was rather anxious that all those who assisted at mass should offer, but when this opinion gained ground it was natural that the priest should receive but one offering at each mass.

20. It is not known whether this discipline of the church of France was introduced into Spain in that century,

though it is probable from the great intercourse between the two nations; and Cardinal Bona says, that the discipline of the two churches was the same. The first information we have about the stipend of the mass, is from the eleventh century. The only mention made of it in our history is, that Doña Mayer Sanchez, daughter of Count Don Sancho, in her will, dated 1066, left the third part of a number of cows which she had in Asturias, in order to celebrate masses for her soul.

21. This custom was the cause of many abuses, as many priests, faithful followers of Judas, offered for sale the precious body and blood of Christ, making various conditions for the infamous price to be given for the mass; others celebrated many masses, not for the sake of spiritual advantages, but to satisfy their unbounded thirst for gold. In vain Alexander II. tried to put a stop to those abuses, prohibiting the priest from celebrating more than one mass daily, as they despised his decree, consecrating at once as many wafers as they had received offerings.

22. These and other similar disorders did not escape the censure of the church. The zeal of the bishops armed itself with sufficient energy to extinguish them. The origin of these disorders proceeded from the poverty of the clergy and the abominable crime of simony, so prevalent in those miserable ages. In the present day we are free from those defects, though not from others.

23. The celebrated Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, who lived in 840, declaimed forcibly against the covetousness of the priests, who kept up the idea that no alms were useful to the dead, but those given to the priests to say masses for their souls. Perhaps there are among us some who maintain this opinion, as we see many testators distributing all their inheritances in stipends for masses, without remembering the poor of the hospitals and houses of charity. The advisers of such persons should remember the doctrine of the celebrated Melcho Cano, who, upon the authority of Paul and James, says, that the purest act of religion is to visit the sick, to

comfort the fatherless and the widow, and to love our neighbour as ourselves.

24. After works of charity began to be substituted for canonical penances, the desire of satisfying divine justice, without the pain or trouble of mortifications, was very ardent among the Christians. Our king, Alfonso VII., in the twelfth century, said, as prayers, fasting, and alms banish sins, and we do not know how to fast and pray properly, it is well that we should with our alms make the fasts and prayers of the servants of God ours. The Abbot Reginon says, that one mass remits twelve days of penance, and ten masses four months. This discipline necessarily multiplied the alms, for it was more natural that the rich should prefer expiating their crimes with masses than by personal mortifications.

25. In the twelfth century, the mendicant friars were introduced into the church, whose evangelical profession did not allow them, at the commencement, any other property than the charity of the faithful. They received their alms, and their mass was applied generally for all their benefactors, as is now practised by the Capuchins, by which the pious custom of giving alms for the application of masses was increased. In other religious orders, the prelates received those alms, and necessity obliged some of them to compel, indirectly, their subjects to celebrate the mass daily. It would be desirable that no one should be compelled to say mass every day, because all have not the necessary zeal, nor are all who inhabit monasteries faultless; but these abuses will continue while priests are poor.

26. The income of many of the monasteries of Spain consists principally of the alms for masses; and the portion assigned for the maintenance of the priests is so small in almost all the dioceses, that without this help they could not subsist for three months; and therefore those alms should be considered as church revenue: as such they are considered by the council of Trent, and by different diocesan synods, which regulate the stipend of the masses in proportion to the value of provisions.

It is true that, according to the declaration of Urban VIII., the priests ought not to attend so much to this regulation as to the will of the giver.

(*To be continued.*)

## SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,  
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

### LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

### SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant

this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

#### MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs.,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound ; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound ; any quantity above 50lbs.,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound ; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above ; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828 ; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large ; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed ; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. Pym, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex ; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place ; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place ; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

#### USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, **FIRST** as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and

one-third corn-flour ; **SECOND**, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary ; **THIRD**, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs ; **FOURTH**, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums ; **FIFTH**, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way ; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make **BREAD**, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary ; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light ; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour ; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour ; and mix the flour up with the water ; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour ; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford ; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans

make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this : that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table :—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.
	£. s. d.
1 Ear will plant nearly two rods	0 0 3½
1 Bunch will plant more than seven rods.....	0 1 0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0 5 6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre ....	0 10 6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre .....	1 0 9

#### OFFICIAL

#### PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENT.

THE number of four-penny stamps issued from the Stamp-Office for all the London newspapers in the year 1831, was 22,048,509, for the supply of twelve daily journals, four three-day a week, fifty-six weekly papers, and the Government *Gazette*, out of which number Mr. Clement, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, used, for that journal and his three weekly papers, 2,269,850. Mr. Clement alone consumed many more than one-tenth of the London press, daily, three-day, and weekly put together,—the total number of stamps had for all the London newspapers in the past year, 1831, having been 22,048,509; of which Mr. Clement issued 2,269,850, being 138,000 more than his consumption in the preceding year of 1830.

#### From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 1832.

#### INSOLVENT.

HARRIS, R., Cheshunt, Herts, carpenter.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BALLINGER, J., Orchard-place, Kingsland-road, grocer.

COHEN, L. E., Brighton, printer.  
DAVY, J. H., Parker-st., Drury-lane, coach-wheelwright.  
HARRISON, G., Ebury-place, Pimlico, builder.  
HEWETSON, H., Strand, carpet-dealer.  
KENT, B., Bungay, Suffolk, innkeeper.  
MACBEAN, D. jun., Liverpool, merchant.  
WARE, G., Cranborne, Dorsets., ironmonger.  
WEBB, C. T., Newport, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ADIE, R., Dallirie, woollen-manufacturer.  
BEGG, J., Airdrie, builder.  
MACDONALD and Ormiston, Edinburgh, cloth-merchants.  
RUSSELL, A. and J., Whittleigh, Lanarkshire, farmers.

TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1832.

#### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

DEAN, H., Nelson-st., Greenwich, tobacconist.  
MAYELL, W., Exeter, jeweller.  
THOMAS, N., Manchester, upholsterer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

AUBREY, J., Hatton-garden, money-scrivener.  
BADCOCK, J., Shrivenham, Berkshire, linen-draper.  
BEARD, J., Ludworth, Derbysh., corn-dealer.  
BUNTING, R., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, lapidary.  
ELLIS, R., Cirencester, Gloucesters., mercer.  
HORSFALL, S., Halifax, dyer.  
MERCER, J., Thrapston, Northamptonshire, innkeeper.  
THORNTON, R., Horsham, Sussex, common-brewer.  
TOON, H., Cornwall-rd., Waterloo-rd., grocer.  
WATHEN, J., Rodborough, Gloucestershire, clothier.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GOW, L. R., Falkirk, Stirlings., cloth-merchant.  
MORRIS, Kirkwood, and Co., Glasgow, warehousemen.  
WATSON, W. S., Edinburgh, picture-dealer.

#### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 2.—Our supplies have been moderately good since this day se'nnight, as to English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat and barley, as also English and Scotch malt, English and foreign flour, English beans, and Irish and Scotch oats. Of English and foreign oats, with rye, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by buyers.—In the early part of it advanced prices were rather stiffly demanded for oats and peas generally, and, in some few

instances, for very superior samples of white wheat; but, as either the still abundant state of the import flour stock, advanced state of the malting season, or slackness of consumption on account of many families still leaving or remaining from town from dread of cholera infection, had induced buyers to anticipate a general abatement, the trade was, with each kind of corn, as also pulse, malts, seeds, and flour, exceedingly dull, at last Monday's quotations.

Wheat .....	50s. to 65s.
Rye .....	—s. to —s.
Barley .....	24s. to 33s.
— fine .....	35s. to 41s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 39s.
— Boilers .....	32s. to 44s.
— Grey .....	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoo .....	24s. to 27s.
— Poland .....	22s. to 25s.
— Feed .....	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

#### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 46s. to 50s. per cwt.
— Sides, new... 48s. to 50s.
Pork, India, new.... 132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ...—s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast .... 84s. to 88s. per cwt.
— Carlow .... 84s. to 94s.
— Cork ..... 88s. to 90s.
— Limerick .. 88s. to 90s.
— Waterford.. 80s. to 86s.
— Dublin .... 76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire.... 56s. to 76s.
— Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 64s.
— Gloucester, Single... 48s. to 54s.
— Edam ..... 48s. to 54s.
— Gouda ..... 48s. to 52s.
Hams, Irish..... 58s. to 65s.

#### SMITHFIELD.—April 2.

This day's supply was throughout rather limited; but, though considerable numbers of its sheep and beasts were kept back, and brought in a few at a time, as these sold were turned out, to make it appear more limited than it was, for the purpose of producing a briskness, the trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at, though nothing beneath, but little variation from Friday's quotations. The general quality of the beasts was unusually prime.

Beasts, 2,516; sheep and lambs, 17,320; calves, 92; pigs, 140.

#### MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 6.

The arrivals this week are small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

#### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. } 83 <i>½</i>	83 <i>½</i>				

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